1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military
701 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the
692 T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his
681 secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the
151 T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day
•691 visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

/117 cont'd/
606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....
[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[34]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most important monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

[34] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934-1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial. 175 792 346

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins. 175 794 648

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa. 175 578 792 [691]

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and 175 792 627 762

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and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 428
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

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old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates.

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu,

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4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[3] 792 578

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies. 628

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[3] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

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did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, living according to his station, giving bribes and sending gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok. 792 691 428

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released. [697]

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.) 792 796

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. 792 788

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to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the monastery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good relations with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law."

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background.

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama.

In the very early morning the master awakens his

[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

[p. 59(A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations.

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time.

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery.

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging injustices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the